

SPECIAL POST-ELECTION ISSUE

# THE INDYPENDENT

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With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the Independent Media Center is an international network of volunteer media activists.

The IMC seeks to create a new media ethic by providing progressive, in-depth and accurate coverage of issues. We are a community-based organization using media to facilitate political and cultural self-representation. We seek to analyze issues affecting individuals, communities and ecosystems by providing media tools and space to those seeking to communicate. We espouse open dialogue and placing the means of communication and creativity back in the hands of the people, away from the drive of profit.

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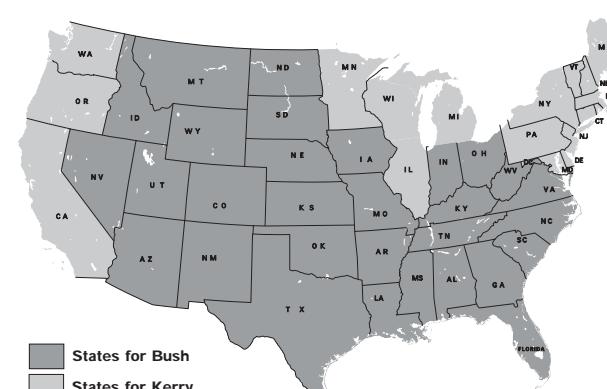
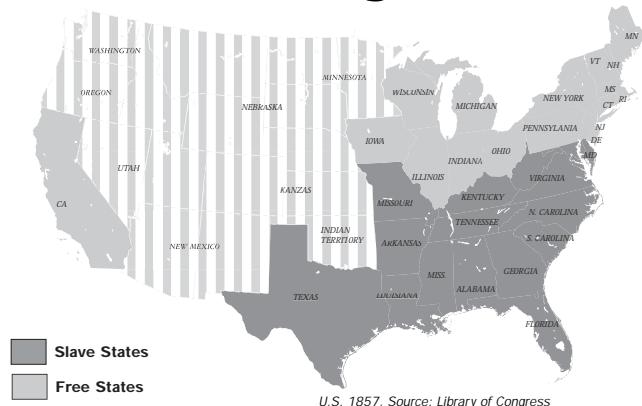
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The print team reserves the right to edit articles for length, content and clarity. We welcome your participation in the entire editorial process.

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# The Times They Are-A-Changin' Back



## Are They &@%#ing Serious?



### TOM COBURN (R-OK) school-boy fantasies clash hard with reality

Coburn alleges that a campaign worker from Coalgate, OK told him that "lesbianism is so rampant in some of the schools in southeast Oklahoma that they'll only let one girl go to the bathroom. Now think about it. Think about that issue. How is it that that's happened to us?" Joe McCulley, the school superintendent in Coalgate, when asked about Coburn's remark, laughed and said, "He knows something I don't know. We have not identified anything like that. We have not had to deal with any issues on that subject – ever."



### JIM DEMINT (R-SC) mama's boy gone awry

"If a person wants to be publicly gay, they should not be teaching in the public schools," DeMint, a three-term congressman from Greenville, South Carolina, repeated for reporters after one of this season's senatorial debates ended. He later elaborated, "I would have given the same answer when asked if a single woman, who was pregnant and living with her boyfriend, should be hired to teach my third grade children. I just think the moral decisions are different with a teacher." Terry Sullivan, in his feeble attempt to ease the blow explained that DeMint is in fact, "a product of a single-mother family, his brothers and sisters were raised without a father," and thus did not really mean what he said.



### JIM BUNNING (R-KY) dazed and confused

After giving a speech at a Louisville, Kentucky Rotary Club, Senator Jim Bunning betrayed his own ignorance. When asked about the Army reservists in Iraq who refused to go on a convoy mission, he replied, "Uh, what are you talking about? I don't know what you are talking about" After the journalists explained that the refusal was a national news story and even involved a soldier from Louisville, "Let me explain something: I don't watch the national news, and I don't read the paper. I haven't done that for the last six weeks. I watch Fox News to get my information." Among Bunning's other more interesting observations is his assertion that his opponent Mongiardo, who has dark hair and is olive-skinned, looks and dresses like one of Saddam Hussein's sons. This summer Bunning told a Paducah TV station that he required a large police presence to protect him from a potential Al-Qaeda attack. "There may be strangers among us," he said.

— LEANNE TORY-MURPHY

# The U.S., An Idea Whose Time Has Passed

BY DAVID GRAEBER

I remember reading in *The Nation* some years ago, after Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis' defeat, that we really have to come to terms with the fact that there's two countries here, a scary reactionary fundamentalist country called America and a relatively sane area that should properly be referred to as Southern Canada. This most recent election has made clear that the cultural and moral gap between these two countries is simply not sustainable. We are literally living in different universes. Therefore I propose that the blue states all immediately secede from the union and join Canada.

Let's make it legal. There is, I think, a potential legal precedent: If I am not mistaken, the Turks and Caicos Islands are negotiating to join Canada even now. The result would be a contiguous nation. The advantages – even apart from the obvious one of freedom from Bush and everything Texan – would be endless. Consider:

- We would all have health care.
- We would be more, not less, economically viable, as the red states leach off our tax money anyway.
- We would no longer have to lie and say we are from Canada when we go overseas.
- Canada can give up Quebec and it won't really matter much.
- The new, scarier rump America will find it much more difficult to terrorize the world since it will have half the resources and population.

There is, as far as I can see, only one possible drawback: the (admittedly not inconceivable) possibility of civil war. The other obvious problem with this plan is that the resulting country – the present vast expanses of Canada plus two fanlike and densely populated extensions – would instantly become the largest and wealthiest state on earth, in a position, eventually, to become yet another predatory superpower.

For this reason it might be preferable to adopt an alternative strategy, one I would dub the "deconstruct America" approach. California and the Southwest could go back to Mexico. They weren't legally annexed anyway. (Texas in theory could go, too, but I wouldn't wish Texas on anyone.) The Great Plains are a disaster, economically unviable, supported by massive welfare, and steadily losing population; I'd say give them back to the Native Americans. This would mean a much smaller, relatively harmless rump America, roughly equivalent to the former Confederacy (minus Louisiana, if that is fused onto Quebec, but all that is of course negotiable, and possibly Florida, which might be better as an independent Caribbean-style state of its own, perhaps something along the lines of Cuba).

The point is that continent-size superstates are a thing of the past. The current election has demonstrated that they are not viable and intrinsically threaten world peace. Just as huge multi-ethnic empires like the Ottoman Empire or the U.S.S.R. have been breaking up over the last century in the name of democracy, the time has come for empires based on extirpation, rather than colonization, really follow suit.

An aggressive, militaristic and fundamentalist-dominated U.S.A. could perhaps become a dangerous rogue state for much of the 21st century, particularly if it ends up with most of the nuclear missiles – however, as an anti-intellectual theocracy, it would probably, like the former U.S.S.R., lose the ability to keep up with military technologies and become, effectively, containable.

But one thing is certain: this state would be a far smaller threat to world peace, or indeed human survival, than the current, obviously untenable United States of America.

# Right-Wing Judiciary May Threaten Rent Control Laws

By STEVEN WISHNIA

A Supreme Court case involving gas stations in Hawaii could have far-reaching implications for rent control in New York City and across the nation.

In 1997, Hawaii, trying to hold down the high price of gas in the islands, enacted a law limiting how much rent oil companies could charge gas stations. Chevron challenged the law, charging that the controls violated the "takings" clause of the Fifth and 14th Amendments – that the government cannot take private property, in this case by denying the company the extra rent it would have collected, without "just compensation." Two lower courts agreed, and on Oct. 12 this year, the Supreme Court heard Hawaii's appeal of the case, *Chevron v. Lingle*.

Could the courts also hold that rent controls are an unconstitutional "taking" of landlords' property? "It's something to watch, but not something to be overly worried about," says Manhattan tenant lawyer Timothy L. Collins, an expert on the legal issues around rent regulations. Courts have upheld the constitutionality of rent controls in the past, he notes. Still, a ruling striking down the Hawaii law could open the way for fresh challenges, especially if President Bush packs the Supreme Court with justices who believe property rights trump all other concerns.

About 140 U.S. cities have some form of rent control, down from about 175 in the late 1970s. New York, with more than 1 million apartments under rent control and rent stabilization, has the broadest-reaching and the best-known system, but four of the nation's five largest metropolitan areas – all but Chicago – are at least partially covered. In California, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Jose, Oakland and Berkeley all have rent controls. Washington, D.C., has 100,000 apartments under rent control and the Maryland suburb of Takoma Park also limits rents. Most of New Jersey's large cities, including Newark, Jersey City, Hoboken and Paterson, retain rent regulations, as do Albany, Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse.

The main conflict is over what standards the courts should use to judge " takings." In most previous cases, courts have held that "generally applicable" laws – such as regulations that limit development in wetlands, as opposed to government decisions that apply to a specific piece of property – should be judged on whether they have a rational basis. But in the *Chevron* case, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Hawaii had to prove that the law "substantially advances" a legitimate state interest, and that the courts had the power to judge the facts on whether or not it did. The decision held that the rent-control law had not advanced a legitimate state interest because it had failed to reduce gas prices.

Giving the courts such power would be an assault on states' abilities to regulate "a potentially vast array" of economic, health and environmental issues. New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer argues in an amicus brief filed with the Supreme Court by 19 states. "Courts will be required to closely scrutinize not the reasonableness of a regulation, but whether the legislative 'means' chosen by the elected members of state government will, in the court's own view, achieve their 'ends.'"

That standard is so broad and vague that it could "allow the court to throw out any law it doesn't like," says Seth Miller, a partner in Collins' law firm. If this test were applied to rent control, he worries, the courts could abolish it simply because it hasn't resolved the city's housing shortage.

"Everybody's antennae get raised because the case concerns commercial rent control," says James Grow, a lawyer with the National Housing Law Project in Oakland, but he suspects that "the usual paranoia might be misplaced." The Ninth Circuit decision, he explains, was highly unusual. The appeals court judges declared the law a "regulatory taking" even though Chevron stipulated that it had not suffered any economic injury from it, and went on to "substitute their own judgment" for that of the Hawaii legislature. Given this, he believes that the Supreme Court probably agreed to take the case "to straighten the mess out" on regulatory law, not to issue a radical new doctrine.

"It's an issue of concern," says Grow, but rent regulations will likely remain unscathed for now. Even conservative Justice Antonin Scalia found them constitutional, in a 1988 case involving a San Jose law that let the city deny landlords' applications for special rent increases if it would cause a hardship for low-income tenants. Though forbidding excessive rents made landlords poorer and tenants richer, Scalia wrote, that was not necessarily unfair, because landlords could "plausibly be regarded as the source or the beneficiary of the high-rent problem."

Still, the justice left the door open to further challenges to rent regulations, stating that if their purpose was to protect the needy, then that burden "should be borne by the public as a whole," not by landlords. The strongest argument against that, contends Collins, is that rent control is not a "subsidy" to tenants; it is a way of preventing profiteering in a market where there is a severe housing shortage.

If there is a long-term danger to rent control from the federal courts, it would come from President Bush filling them with judges who are ideologically opposed to government economic regulations. Bush's support for judges with theocratic ideas about sexual morality has gotten far more publicity, but the far right is also grooming and promoting free-market ideologues for the federal bench.

Current case law, which accepts the constitutionality of economic regulations, dates largely from the New Deal. But for the first third of the 20th century, the main precedent on such issues was the 1905 *Lochner v. New York* decision, which held that a New York State law setting a 10-hour maximum workday for bakers interfered with workers' and employers' freedom to agree on contracts. The Supreme Court used similar reasoning to strike down laws against child labor and to let employers force workers to sign pledges that they wouldn't join unions. "*Lochner* is what lawyers use as shorthand for the bad old days of the 1920s," says Seth Miller.

A return to *Lochner* "is a looming threat," says Collins. If the courts claim the power to second-guess regulations on a broad scale, it could "permit the market and property rights to trump democratic decision-making." Property rights shouldn't trump all other concerns, he adds, but "that's what the far right wants."

No Mandate



November 9, 2004 – Oona Montalvo, 10 years old, protests with her mother Ileana in Union Square against the siege of Fallujah.

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# The Iraq Vote

By A.K. GUPTA

While evidence is mounting that partisan Ohio election officials used chicanery to suppress the vote and throw the state to Bush, there is no smoking gun as of yet.

In contrast, the election rigging in Iraq is happening right in the open. While all eyes are on the assault of Fallujah, U.S.-backed Iraqi parties are openly plotting to dilute the strength of Sunni voters.

Iraq's election for a 275-seat transitional national assembly is slated for late January. The White House wants to smash the insurgency so voting can take place in the rebellious "Sunni triangle." But the Muslim Scholars Association, which represents 3,000 Sunni-based mosques, announced it was boycotting elections after the re-invasion of Fallujah.

The interim Iraqi government was dealt a further blow after the only Sunni party withdrew. And meanwhile, Sunni voters are being disenfranchised. Iraq's electoral commission is allowing up to 2 million expatriate Iraqis to vote. The *New York Times* reported that Shiite and Kurdish politicians strongly backed the measure because most exiles come from these two groups. Expatriates could add 15 percent to the electorate, nearly as much as Sunnis Arabs, who make up 20 to 25 percent of Iraq's population.

Even if Sunnis candidates stand, the electoral commission may bar many of them from running. According to the *Washington Post*, the commission has barred former Baath Party officials from running if they held "the rank of Division member or higher." An unnamed former CIA official told the *Post* that the level was "not high and would cover many schoolteachers and college professors." The official added that the rules "clearly will not bring Sunnis into the process unless it is waived."

Even if Sunnis join the election process, there is dwindling time to recruit and field a slate of candidates and to campaign. Election rules encourage candidates to form slates. The two main Kurdish parties have agreed on a unified slate. The two largest Shiite parties, the Dawa Islamic Party and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, both of which participate in the interim government, have formed another slate. According to reports, the Shiite vote may be diluted if Moktada Al-Sadr, highly popular among poor Shites in Baghdad, puts forth a competing slate in alliance with former Pentagon's golden boy, Ahmad Chalabi.

Forcing candidates to run on slates rather than individually will concentrate power in the hands of political bosses who will likely apportion out seats in backroom deals, which may alienate Shiite groups. Some Shites also oppose the elections, including one cleric based in Karbala who has criticized the assertion by Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani that it is a religious duty to participate in the election.

Further undermining the election's legitimacy, interim Prime Minister Ayad Allawi has imposed martial law in most of Iraq. Around Fallujah and Ramadi, Allawi has decreed a 24-hour curfew. Issuing shoot-on-sight commands against Sunnis is hardly a way to win their support.

Voter registration, which has not yet started in Sunni areas, has gotten off to a rocky start in some Shiite areas. According to Iraq analyst Juan Cole, one-third of the residents of Karbala, or 100,000 potential voters, have failed to receive registration cards. Voter rolls are being prepared based on old U.N. food ration lists that may undercut Shites.

Iraqis are supposed to register at designated food distribution centers, where everyone receives monthly rations. But in many Sunni cities the open warfare has halted food transport and distribution for months, and hundreds of thousands of Sunnis have fled the U.S. assault and are far away from their designated food center.

Then there is the still-unresolved issue of whether balloting will even take place at all in Sunni areas. Bush administration officials have stated outright that a partial election is still a valid election and Sunni cities could be bypassed in the vote.

Even former U.S. occupation officials are speaking against a stacked election. One, Larry Diamond, told the *Washington Post*, "We're looking at a protracted insurgency which will get worse if we go through with elections" that are boycotted by the Sunnis.

Perhaps most disturbing is the composition of the Iraqi forces meant to put an indigenous face on the assault. The re-invasion of Fallujah began with a much-publicized seizure of a hospital by U.S. Special Forces and the "Iraqi 36th Commando Battalion."

One analyst, writing on the *Asia Times* website, described the battalion as "alien" because it was composed of exiles, and Kurdish and Shiite militia members. Syed Saleem Shahzad writes, "their participation beside U.S. forces will not only provoke local tribal sentiment, but also have an impact on countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Syria, and attract support for the resistance, though from the grassroots level."

By repressing all Sunnis to quell the insurgency, the White House is stoking the flames of civil war. But that may be the intent. Referring to some Sunni groups, one senior Iraqi government official told the *Washington Post*, "They don't seem to get it. The monopoly of power is over."

# THE JIHAD PARTY

## OR UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL THEOLOGY OF BUSH'S AMERICA

"Values" is what the election was supposedly about. Not really, unless you consider ignorance, fear and hatred values. Bush's marginal victory was based on old-fashioned Manichean dualism, that is, good and evil.

BY A.K. GUPTA

The Republican strategy is to offer people certainty in troubling times by neatly dividing the world into black and white: a strong, decisive leader benevolently ruling a divinely sanctioned nation engaged in a battle against the forces of evil. The evil takes a variety of forms: Islam, Arabs, queers, women's sexuality, liberals.

In short, the Republican Party is the Jihad Party.

To ask whether the evidence supports this worldview is to be an apostate: truth is revealed through faith, not science or reason. But it's not so much faith in God as faith in Bush, who is sanctioned by the divine.

Many of these Bush voters became the subject of profiles following his victory. The *Washington Post* interviewed Tara Leslie, a 27-year-old married mother of three children who belongs to an evangelical church and home schools her children.

She explains, "I think it's so important to have a society of moral absolutes." Leslie says it's "a huge thing" to know that Bush prays. The *Post* writes that this means for Leslie, "The sanctity of marriage will be fine. The Supreme Court will be fine. The war on terror will be fine. The economy will be fine." Yet this comes from a family in dire economic straits; they refer to themselves as the working poor. Leslie says "It's been rough. Very rough. I mean scraping by [but] to us, the biggest things were the moral things."

Because they have faith, everything will be fine, which neatly reflects the Protestant doctrine of salvation through faith. A few commentators have noted the profound ignorance of Bush voters. A survey by the University of Maryland found that almost 70 percent of Bush supporters believe there is "clear evidence" Saddam Hussein was in cahoots with Al Qaeda. One-third also believed that weapons of mass destruction were actually found in Iraq.

What matters is not the evidence, but Bush's convictions. If he says it is so, it must be, evidence be damned. After all, many of the "values voters" are evangelical Christians who believe with absolute certitude in creationism.

Every facet of our modern world, from clones to genomes, points to creationism being pure fantasy. Yet tens of millions of Americans fervently believe the Earth is only 5,000 years old and fossilized dinosaur bones were placed in the ground by Satan to deceive us.

This is part of the continuing battle over the Enlightenment. The 2004 election was not so much an endorsement of religion as a rejection of the Enlightenment, of science, progress through reason and the "rights of man."

The left is a product of the Enlightenment, but the world is post-Enlightenment. The leading edge of historical change is religious fanaticism. Militant, orthodox Islam is ascendant throughout the Muslim belt. Messianic, revisionist Zionism



## THE MARKETS SPEAK

What will a second Bush administration look like? Watch the markets. Revealing the link between economic and political fortunes, stocks nose-dived on Election Day after exit polls showed Bush losing, and then rallied for three days straight after Kerry conceded.

Wall Street was happy that there wasn't a contested election, happier that government isn't divided, which creates gridlock that affects the economy, and happiest about a pro-business administration that promises to further gut regulations and cap damages awarded in class-action suits aimed primarily at corporate malfeasance.

### STOCKS

In all likelihood there will be a "Bush Rally" until the end of the year as institutional investors, who had been hoarding cash, pump up stocks, which will then draw in more money. (If this sounds like a pyramid scheme, well, that's because it is. It's one feature of finance capitalism.)

"Reforming" the tax code, shifting the tax burden from income to consumption, will boost the market only moderately, as the rich tend to invest tax gains in bonds and out of country or buy extravagant toys and baubles that do little to stimulate the economy.

Privatizing Social Security may well create another equities bubble as trillions of dollars flood the market in search of investments. But this would be a temporary infusion, resulting in another disastrous crash for small investors once the cash spigot is turned off.

### OIL

Interestingly, the oil markets rallied after Bush's win. Oil recently peaked at about \$56 a barrel and plummeted in advance of the election. The only plausible explanation for oil prices rising after the election is that traders see four more years of Bush as bad for geopolitical stability and bad for Middle East oil producers. (Oil prices did start to drop once again, but solely based on the fact that there was a larger-than-expected increase in oil stocks in advance of the winter heating season.)

### GREENBACKS

Even more remarkable was the currency market. The dollar has crashed to all-time lows against the Euro. This is because the White House favors a "weak dollar" policy that makes goods produced in the U.S. more competitive abroad. Currency speculators are also unthinged by the size of the U.S. current account deficit. The annualized trade deficit is at an eye-popping \$2 trillion. The federal budget deficit is officially \$500 billion. In reality, it is around \$800 billion once you subtract out Social Security revenues that are funding government operations. So, annual U.S. deficits are running at more than 25 percent of the gross domestic product, which is unsustainable.

### GOLD

After Bush's win was sealed, the price of gold soared to more than \$430 an ounce and traders say the decks are cleared to \$500. Gold is a classic hedge against geo-political instability, that is, a bet for more war.

### BETTING ON DISASTER

It will take years, but the twin deficits will eventually bite America in the ass. If investors keep fleeing the dollar, causing a continuing decline, the Federal Reserve has to raise interest rates to shore up the dollar. This, of course, will ground the U.S. economy, leading to even more massive budget deficits and/or spending cuts as well as a weaker dollar, creating a vicious cycle.

This is why gold and stocks are soaring and the dollar is dropping. The markets are cheering Bush because they know they'll make money in the short term. But they are already betting on disaster down the road.

sweeping the Deep South from both major parties. About 88 percent of Bush's 2004 vote was from whites. Kerry's was a little over 60 percent, meaning three times as many people of color supported Kerry as Bush.

A recurring theme of political history is that we suffer from moral decay. The right mobilizes hatred against a group held to be the agent of corruption: immigrants, intellectuals, communists, integrationists, unions, criminals, drug addicts and welfare queens (code words for blacks), and, since the 1970s, women and queers.

Race is central to this divide. The map of red America is uncannily similar to the states and territories that allowed slavery. The roots of this election are still found in the 1948 contest that saw the Strom Thurmond-led "Dixiecrats" who supported Southern apartheid break off from the Democrats and display remarkable regional strength,

than yours: Mohammed was a terrorist, Islam is evil. The anti-Muslim fanatics kept a low profile during the election, but to millions of Americans "war on terror" is very much a crusade against Islam.

NUKES

The Bush administration wants more weapons testing, more nuclear bombs and a revival of nuclear power. More ominous, the policy henchbacks in Dick Cheney's secret dungeon would like nothing better than to release the nuclear genie once again by making Iran or North Korea glow.

### FOUR MORE WARS

With two out of three Axis of Evil charter members still standing, war is in vogue. And that still leaves Syria, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Cuba, Colombia and France to invade.

### OUTSOURCING GOVERNMENT

Privatizing schools with vouchers, eliminating the postal service, selling off public utilities, hiring more mercenaries – it's a great time for "private" companies to fatten themselves off the public trough.

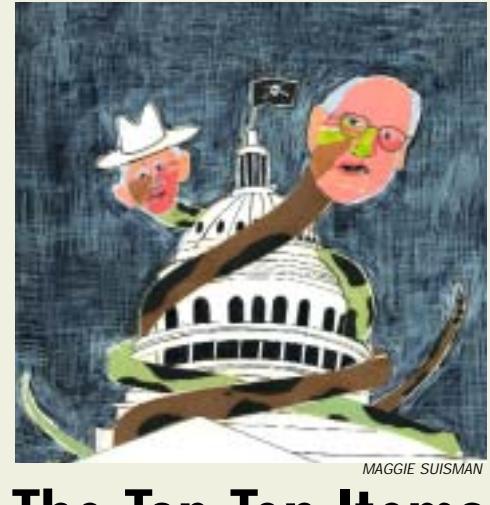
### PATRIOT ACT II

Kiss your citizenship goodbye. Plan ahead, and get yourself a nice corner cell in Guantánamo now, before you're declared an enemy combatant.

### REDISTRICTING

By gerrymandering congressional districts state by state, Tom "The Hammer" DeLay wants to ensure Congress is dominated by deranged, fanatical Republicans for decades to come.

—A.G.



## The Top Ten Items on Bush's Agenda We Must Stop

### OVERTURNING ROE V. WADE

Top on the radical right's wish list: Bush wants to pack the courts with reactionary freaks who believe freedom means government control of women's bodies. And no sex education or contraception, either.

### PRIVATIZING SOCIAL SECURITY

Perhaps the toughest sell for Bush. Tens of millions of pissed-off codgers make a powerful voting bloc. And where is the government supposed to find the estimated \$2 trillion to fund the transition from pay-as-you-go to individual accounts?

### GAY MARRIAGE AMENDMENT

Unlikely. The Senate fell 19 votes short in July. Even with more Republican storm troopers in Congress, many senators are against amending the Constitution over a divisive social issue. But this will help keep the culture war alive, which is Karl Rove's goal.

### DRILLING IN THE ARCTIC NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE AND EVERY OTHER NATIONAL PARK, MONUMENT, AND WILDERNESS AREA

Probable. Don't count on Democrats to block oil drilling or mining. Just think: "Yellowstone, brought to you by Exxon-Mobil."

### REFORMING THE TAX CODE

Shift the tax burden from income to consumption, which means to the poor and middle class. Don't count on the Democrats to block this one either, as many of them crossed the aisle to support the obscene repeal of the estate tax.



# RADICAL WALKING TOURS

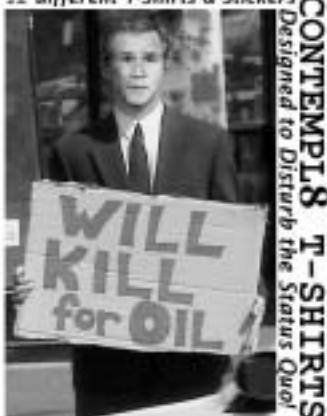
Bruce Kayton leads 17 different radical history walking tours of Manhattan focusing on subjects like bohemian Greenwich Village, the antiwar movement, Malcolm X, John Reed, Emma Goldman & more!

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22ND @ 7PM • FREE  
Reading: Masha Hamilton  
"The Distance Between Us"

Come and hear Masha Hamilton read from her novel "The Distance Between Us". In the book, we meet Caddie Blair, an American journalist who has been covering the Middle East conflict for years. Caddie knows tear gas, tank fire, and has stepped over bodies while getting a story, but when her lover dies beside her, she must reassess the violent world in which she's immersed.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 30TH @ 7PM  
\$3 TO \$5 Suggested  
Women's Poetry Jam  
& Women's Open-Mike

Featuring: Donna Masini and Jackie Sheeler  
Donna Masini will be reading from her new book of poems "Turning to Fiction". Her poems speak to the desires that imprison us and which lead us into spiritual searches. Jackie Sheeler's work is informed by her years on the street with uncompromising language and images delivered in a take-no-prisoners style. Women's Poetry Jam is hosted by Vittoria Repetto, the hardest working guinea butch dyke poet on the lower east side. Open mike sign-up starts at 7 pm, so come and deliver (up to) 8 minutes of your poetry, prose, songs, and spoken word in front of an audience!

Bush Boosts Progressive Publications

# Still Good for *The Nation*?

BY CHRIS ANDERSON

For the last four years, a joke has circulated around *The Nation* magazine. "What's bad for the country," it goes, "is good for *The Nation*." And while grim, it appears mostly true: *The Nation* is only one of many left-leaning media outlets to have seen a sharp rise readership during the first four years of the Bush administration. Now, many independent media makers are wondering if the trend will continue over the next four years. And some are reassessing their political strategies in the wake of the recent conservative political triumph.

## PEOPLE RESPOND TO FEAR MORE THAN HOPE

Liberal and lefty magazines have been the biggest beneficiaries of the bump provided by the policies of the George W. Bush presidency. Over the course of Bush's first term, *The Nation* saw its circulation jump a mind-boggling 71 percent, up to a paid circulation of 165,000 readers. For better or worse, people respond more to fear than hope, at least in the short run," says *Nation* publisher Victor Navasky. Other liberal magazines have seen a similar readership spike. In the last 12 months alone, *Mother Jones'* circulation has risen by 26 percent. Other magazines registering gains include *The Progressive*, *The American Prospect*, and *Harper's*. Magazines on the more radical end of the spectrum have had nearly equal levels of success. The circulation of the purportedly centrist *New Republic*, on the other hand, dropped 39 percent since 2000, while the right-wing *National Review* has seen gains of only six percent.

"There's an overwhelming demand for anti-Bush stuff," *Harper's* publisher John "Rick" MacArthur told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* during the lead-up to the Iraq war. "Most of the media is pro-Bush and neutral, but we are very anti-Bush and anti-war ... There's not much else out there."

While MacArthur may be correct in his contention that the majority of the media remains either neutral or pro-Bush, there can be little doubt that the last four years have seen something of a left-wing media renaissance. In addition to the already noted magazine explosion, the first Bush term has seen the establishment of the national liberal radio network Air America, the expansion of the global Indymedia network (centers in more than 100 cities worldwide), and the birth of the left-wing "blogosphere."

"Bush has certainly been good for the 'stop Bush' industry," says Jason Kucsmar, editor of the bimonthly magazine *Clamor*. "Honestly, I'd much rather have us focusing on other things. But I guess sort of by default we've gotten some runoff from the intense hatred that Bush inspires."

## RUNNING DRY

While all signs may point to the continued success of independent media during a second Bush term, many observers fear that the well may run dry. Sheer political fatigue or despair might finally choke off the growth of left-wing media. Some media activists also express concern that the institutional Democratic Party still seems unwilling to invest in a long-term media strategy.

In an online column at Consortiumnews.com, journalist Robert Parry argues that the Democratic Party's interest in media issues is a case of too little, too late. "In contrast to the right's media juggernaut, the evidence is that wealthy progressives still don't get it," Parry contends. "Even with election 2004 looming, Air America, a promising AM radio network to challenge the right's media monopoly, was hobbled by the refusal of rich liberals to invest in the venture."

In a new book, *Road to Air America*, Sheldon Drobny, one of the network's founders, describes his frustrating appeals to East and West

Coast "limousine liberals" who didn't want to engage in the project.

Other independent media makers, following a different political model, are less concerned with the prospect of four more years of Bush. "We're probably just going to keep on doing what we've been doing, which is cultural critique," says Kucsmar. "I'm certainly tired of bashing Bush, and I think our readership is, too. We did a 'Stop Bush' issue a few months ago, which I'm glad we did, but some of our readers were a little put off by that kind of focus. *Clamor's* always been about a lot more than that. Maybe it speaks a little bit to some general issues," Kucsmar continues. "I think a lot of the younger activists are aware that the problems we're facing go way beyond Bush."

## A NEW STRATEGY?

Although the first Bush administration set off an explosion of left-wing media ventures, ranging from radical to centrist, this media activity failed to stop the election of Bush to a second term. In the wake of two wars and the continuing conservative realignment of the United States, many on the left are thinking hard about their political strategy.

Independent media might sustain a like-minded radical community in the political wilderness – a community-based rather than a power-based activity.

Of course, the political problem may not be so complex. The independent media movement, still in its early stages, continues to rethink both its message and its delivery mechanisms.

"As independent media makers and activists, we tend to fetishize the making of media and lose sight of the distribution end of the equation," says Kucsmar. "There are tons of publications out there that don't reach beyond the same 10 percent of the population. That's a problem, because in the end, you're preaching in the same church."

## first-person

# REVOLUTION OF THE SPIRIT

BY JOHN TARLETON

The hardest part was getting out of bed the morning after. Four more years of this?! I want to pull the covers over my head and make it all go away. Getting up and putting around makes me feel a little better. Anything beats being paralyzed by fear. Then I find myself doing yoga for the first time in months. The pain doesn't go away. But I'm slowly able to exhale the anger and resentment I feel.

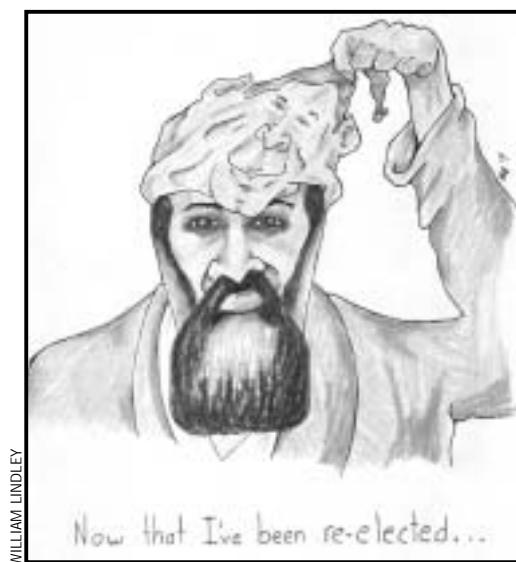
So much of our energy in the past year has been outwardly directed at bringing down Bush so we can get on with trying to bring about a better, more just world that we carry in our hearts. Before that, there were huge protests against the Iraq war and the mass demonstrations against corporate globalization that burst into the public consciousness in Seattle in November 1999 and ricocheted around the world in 2000 and 2001 and helped give birth to this newspaper. In the aftershock of Bush's re-election, I find myself pausing and looking inward, breathing deeply, wanting to be a little kinder to my friends and more patient with strangers, realizing anew that the kind of world I want to live in starts with me. No amount of Red States can take that away.

For inspiration, I think of all the good, decent people I met while covering the final days of the campaign in Cleveland, Ohio. Thousands of people of all ages and from all walks of life mobilized to win Ohio – blacks, whites, gays, straights, union members, students, old radicals with ideals still intact ready to fight the good fight one more time – phone banking, canvassing, working as poll monitors, driving elderly and disabled people to the polls. Their politics were generally moderate and the free food at the campaign offices came from Dunkin' Donuts instead of Food Not Bombs. But people were coming from a good place. On Election Day, it poured a hard, cold rain but both campaign volunteers and Cleveland's predominantly Democratic voters who had to wait in long lines remained good-natured and enthusiastic.

"There's such goodwill. People are so supportive of each other," said Monty, a New York filmmaker who canvassed, phonebanked and stuffed envelopes 14 hours per day during the last week of the campaign. "It's one of the premiums of being in this kind of movement."

The anti-Bush movement was about more than Bush. It was about a broad swath of the population waking up and caring enough to act. That needn't stop with Kerry's demise, though we are certainly in for a long, hard ride. Like all extremists who gain power, the Republicans will overreach as they become increasingly divorced from reality, and their corporate-military-evangelical crusade will ultimately end in disaster.

If you're feeling pain and sadness right now, count yourself lucky. It means you're fully alive. Don't run from it. Open yourself up to it. Become one with it. There is a place on the other side of pain and loss. Don't turn back. It's where true compassion and understanding begin. This is the real revolution – one of the spirit. It gives us the strength and the inner joy to go back into the world and join up with others to struggle for what we believe is right.



WILLIAM LINLEY

COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS SPEAK UP

# Our Values



spok.nyc

## Victor Manuel Castañeda

ASOCIACIÓN TEPEYAC DE NEW YORK

The Republicans have an immigration plan – the Bracero Program – that's more complete of a vision than the Democrats, who presented their plan in Congress late. We want to take the best from both and put it together. The Mexican government seems not to be interested if immigrants actualize change in the United States. Immigrants support more than 20 million people in Mexico – that's \$13 billion a year. In states like New York, the politicians don't go to the level that they do in Arizona with their anti-immigrant proposition, though they don't better the situation either. That Arizona proposition [Prop. 200] is a problem of racism and class. In New York, there are currently actions around the young man [Manuel Chamelta] killed by an ex-police officer at a deli in Queens. There is not equal application of the law to non-white people, but instead there is a blue wall of silence.



spok.nyc

## Nellie Hester Bailey

HARLEM TENANTS COUNCIL



Caitlin Benedetto

We have higher oil prices now due in part to the war in Iraq. In areas of Harlem that are being gentrified where tenants are paying rent control, landlords may use this as an excuse to increase harassment by withholding heat and hot water. This would have a disastrous impact. People can't stay in their homes. Elderly are increasingly at risk, including death. The Harlem Tenants Council has an attorney on staff to represent seniors in our anti-eviction program started in September. We are going to engage in the policy end of things, such as the Section 8 initiative on public housing. Given the election of Bush and the move to the right, forces on the ground need to deal with public policy issues that will have a broader impact. We seek to engage the community in the movement for social change and to make them key players in the policy arena. By engaging in these local struggles and altering power relationships, we connect to global communities in their struggles.

## Alice Leeds

PARENTS, FAMILIES  
AND FRIENDS OF LESBIANS  
AND GAYS (PFLAG)

Clearly, Bush has a very conservative agenda and all we can do is bring our case to people in the fair-minded middle who want equality in the American dream. There's no desire for these amendments, other than to discriminate. Those who voted for moral values in the past election have to evaluate the greater spectrum of values. For people who think homosexuality is a sin you have to ask "How are you hurt by gay marriage?" For some, there always has to be an unfavorable minority to kick. This conservative climate makes us even more energetic to get out there and to speak our minds. Bush thinks that the nation gave him a mandate, but he did not win by any kind of mandate. We have to continue to fight. We have to be visible and share our stories.



Antim Caskey

first person

## Can the Greens Still Grow?

BY ADAM GERBER

Is there still space for idealism in America's electoral politics?

When Ralph Nader spoke against the corporate two-party system in Madison Square Garden during the final month of the 2000 campaign, he drew an adoring crowd of 15,000. This year, just 800 people turned out at Cooper Union to listen to him speak on the final night of the campaign. When the 2004 tallies rolled in, Nader received less than 15 percent of the 2.7 million votes he won four years ago. The official Green Party candidate, David Cobb, barely registered 100,000 votes nationwide, including just 24 in Ohio.

Still, I believe in Nader and the Greens.

Those of us devoted to Nader and his platform – raising minimum wage to a living wage of \$10, working toward universal single-payer health care, and waging a less aggressive "war on terror" – stood up for our beliefs. Most of the people in this country and around the world are on the short end of the system's violently splintered stick. Neither Bush nor Kerry was close to advancing any of these issues.

No American third party has won a Presidential election, but they have advanced important issues along the way, such as abolition of slavery and women's suffrage.

Running in local races across the country, Greens won 64 out of the 429 races they contested this year. Significant results include John Eder's re-election to the Maine Statehouse and winning city council majorities in Sebastopol and Arcata, California. Greens now hold more than 200 elective offices in this country. The collapse of the Democrats brings new opportunities. But for the Green Party to exceed its modest achievements, it will have to learn to think and organize outside of its own very white, well-educated, middle-class milieu.

## Nieves Padilla

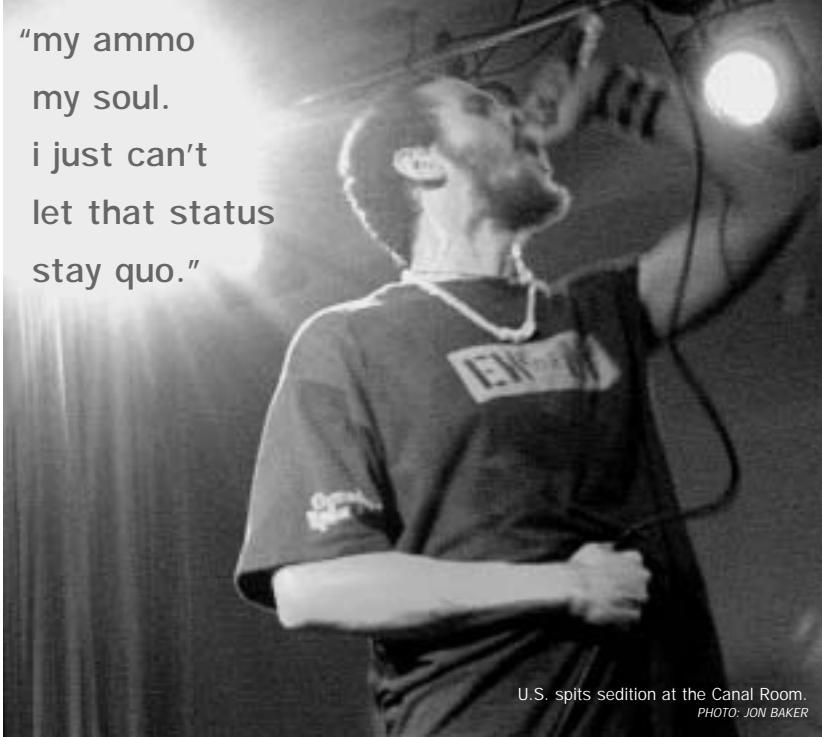
MAKE THE ROAD BY WALKING

I think Bush's re-election will be a continuation of the past. He'll just have more time to make cuts in the labor sector and ignore immigrants. Amnesty, housing issues and health care will be chilled and forgotten as well. However, we'll continue working with the same energy for these issues as before. One of our campaigns, "Despierta Bushwick," is focused on Knickerbocker Avenue businesses to help workers gain better wages and benefits. Over 3,000 residents and consumers have pledged to support the campaign to leverage business owners and to give workers a better deal. We organize the community and workers together to know their rights and to fight for social justice. Bush won't give us anything. You have to fight to make changes. *Hay que luchar para hacer cambios.*

# REVIEWS

## CULTURE, POLITICS AND CRITICISM

"my ammo  
my soul.  
i just can't  
let that status  
stay quo."



U.S. spits seditious at the Canal Room.  
PHOTO: JON BAKER

### THE REAL HIP-HOP

#### U.S. DRIVES THE MOVEMENT WITH THE NECESSARY EVIL

Now that my November 2 trauma has waned, I decided it was important to re-examine how I live the revolution because it's not going away. In fact, the fire within me has only been fueled by Bush's win. But where did we go wrong? Where do we go from here? How are others living the revolution?

Looking for answers, I sat down with U.S., a Brooklyn-born and raised MC living his own revolution through creating and independently producing his own hip-hop music. U.S. has been rhyming since he was 18 with the groups Old Souls, The Wondahfuls and Nuclear Family. He embarked on a solo career and produced his first album in November 2003 entitled *Consider This a Heart Attack*, followed by the second, *Oceans Between Us*, just four months later. U.S.'s music penetrates; it's raw, in your face and electrifying. His third album, *The Necessary Evil*, speaks of politics, passion and rage laid over some of the freshest and most innovative beats crafted by members of NYC's underground hip-hop movement. Over the course of elevated train rides, countless cigarettes and a fleeting rainstorm, we discussed both his forthcoming album and his personal politics.

"Revolution is a choice and a road open to us since forever," he said. "It comes down to action; you

must first ask yourself who you want to be and what's important to you ... your freedom is tied into the freedom of others. There's no way for anyone to be too far ahead of each other. Nothing can really, really move until WE move."

In 14 tracks of inventive tirades, U.S. crafts language into a force that will drive the Movement. He uses everything from Otis Redding's "Sittin' on the Dock of the Bay," to discuss block life in Brooklyn to melodies from Richie Valens' "La Bamba" to explore the murders of Patrice Lumumba and

Che Guevara. U.S. grabs you with his raucous hooks and manipulation of language that throughout the album, you'll never want to skip a track.

On "Sunday," produced by Babah Fly, U.S. says, "seed of the sacred's within the profane." This illuminates the album title's concept. "The necessary evil," he explained to me, "is being in those ugly moments when your opinions put you miles away from someone else, where you have to put your armor on and risk being an asshole by calling people out on their bull-

shit. It's giving your gift of honesty to humanity ... to not only stand out, but stand up."

*The Necessary Evil* also spits raw seditious by unmasking the ugliness of present-day American reality over beats you can't help but bang your head to. In "Rome Too Burned," produced by Berandom Infavor, he raps,

Cuz it'll only get worse ... when the companies you working for don't gotta pay they share no more ... when GE owes the government like a billion bucks ... you think they scared of us? N thus, a way better question is ... what? You think they paying us? You complacent fucks. If we all play just a little bit dumb, n o one ever lift they middle finger ... well then, the damage gets done ... by your hand n my hand. Not by no po'man, not by no white man! Soon's we do the right thing, the youth'll be enlightened. You should not be frightened. The future is a bright thing.

"Artists create the language for conversations that need to happen," U.S. explained. In the track, "Get it Hotta," produced by N.E.M.C. of hip-hop outfit Nuclear Family, U.S. presents a dialogue between two men of different generations discussing the motivations fueling our resistance: (Old Man) I knew Black Panthers, I met Malcolm. These young boys, what the fuck are they out for? Proper? Bein fools n followers? Bein food for coppers? The man can't stop us! But what revolution, there's TV to watch, uh? Your generation, the problem wit y'all ... you ain't got balls! You let em make laws! You let em make wars?! That paper-thin president of yours, I wouldn't let decorate floors ...

(Young Man) I hear you, old timer. Fuck cutting off Bush, what we need's a whole new vagina ... there's a perfect vision in our central nervous system that we yearn to live in. The fake must fall ... Lets take em on! We been here before, on a brink of a war wit extinction - for more?!? We gonna fringe? But of course! But I bet you one thing, we will beat em all! We will get it goin, we will get it on ... And we will. There is no other option.

— LAUREN GIAMBONE

*Look out for The Necessary Evil, expected to drop in December. Peep his site for tracks, show dates and more: www.usmc.tv.*

### HOWARD ZINN HEADLINE

#### VOICES OF A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

ANTHONY ARNOVE,  
HOWARD ZINN (EDITORS)  
SEVEN STORIES PRESS, 2004

Since its first printing in 1980, *The People's History of the United States* has made historian Howard Zinn a celebrity in progressive circles. In the book he sought no less than to recount the entire history of the country through the eyes of the rabble-rousers — those who fought the status quo when it deprived them of the rights that the most privileged members of the country, including most historians, routinely enjoyed.

Zinn recast the actions of the elites in a more global and populist context. That broader view showed how much violence and coercion, both at home and abroad, were needed to create the illusion of American invulnerability. The stories woven into *A People's History* were there for the taking, in battles fought and refought, discussed and described by those who fought them. *Voices of People's History* is a massive anthology of those voices without the thread. (Disclosure: I was pulled into the five-year project in its final days to check corrections.) And the fact is, the fabric hangs together just fine without it.

Who knew, for example, that the woman whose face is familiar to most of us only through the proliferation of post-office vending machines was such a fearsome orator? After being arrested for casting a ballot in the presidential election of 1872, Susan B. Anthony was found guilty and fined \$100. "May it please your honor," she told the judge, "I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty."

"All the stock in trade I possess is a debt of \$10,000, incurred by publishing my paper — *The Revolution* — the sole object of which was to educate all women to do precisely as I have done, rebel against your man-

### WHAT NOW, YOU ASK?

After talking with hip-hop artist, U.S., I decided to ask friends and fellow activists, How do we push the Movement?

|| I think we should call for a massive campaign for half of this country not to pay their taxes this year." —Ana, Brooklyn

|| Focus, unite and create a clear message for the left ... then sell it." —Hannah, Upper West Side

|| Study the conservative movement. Go back to 1964. Read what they've written; understand how they're organized and how they frame their ideas ... we need to figure out how to redirect the massive rightward shift of this country. One way to do that is to figure out how we've been beaten." —Chris, Brooklyn

|| Moving to Canada is for losers, I'm going on a 4-year bender." —Sanjay Kumar, LES

|| Next time you see, hear or watch something whack, call it out! Saying "that's bullshit" or "I don't want your expensive beauty spunk." Pick an issue, any issue that ain't being talked about on CNN. The health care crisis, underfunded public schools, the tyranny of wage labor ... get learned so that the next time someone tries to sell you on a Health Savings Account, you can tell 'em what's up." —Amy, Queens

|| Real change ... will only happen after two major reforms are made: one to the media and the other to the two-party system." —Casey, San Francisco

|| Drop out of the money economy." Check out Freecycle ([www.freecycle.org](http://www.freecycle.org)), The NYC Free Events Calendar (888-365-0000), and the Free Market ([www.rncnotwelcome.org/freemarket.html](http://www.rncnotwelcome.org/freemarket.html)). —Ida, Manhattan

—L.G.

on the street



ANN-MARIE CONLON

**THE INDYPENDENT**  
has open meetings every Tuesday at 7pm. at 34 E. 29th St., 2nd floor.

**WEDNESDAY NOV 10**  
5:30- 7:00pm • Free • call for reservations  
*Have You Seen the Light? Unionizing New York Transit Workers*  
Science, Industry & Business Library, 188 Madison Ave. at 34th St., 1-212-592-7000

6- 7:30pm • Free, call for reservations  
*The AIDS Pandemic: A Threat to Global Security?*  
Speakers examine the history of the pandemic, assess the present situation, and chart a better course forward.  
Center for Global Affairs, Woolworth Building, 15 Barclay St. btw. Broadway & Church St., 1-212-992-8380

6:30- 8:30pm • Free  
*It Is Danger! Local Culture at the Crossroads in Right Bank Ukraine*  
Part of the Library's Seminar Series in Labor and Social History.  
Tamiment Library, Bobst Library, 70 Washington Square South, 10th floor, 1-212-998-2428

6:30- 9:00pm • Price of admission: One Book  
*Housing Works Used Book Cafe: Fighting AIDS, One Book At A Time*  
Fall Book and Gin Mingle Housing Works Used Book Café  
126 Crosby Street (between Houston & Prince)

8:30pm • General \$15 / Students: \$10  
*UND JETZT / AND NOW*  
(thru 11/13 at 8:30pm and 11/14 at 6pm)  
Playwright and director Sabine Harbecke weaves material from interviews with New Yorkers after 9/11 that captures the subtle changes to the way we live, think and work. In English and German. 57 Rockwell Pl. 2nd fl., Near Fulton St. http://www.bricstudio.org/bricstudio

**THURSDAY NOV 11TH**  
1- 2pm • Free, call for reservations  
*Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction in India and Bolivia*  
Human Strategies for Human Rights. Report from the field presents the challenges, opportunities, and resource needs confronting civil society organizations and grassroots NGOs in rural India and Bolivia. Part of the Thursday Brown Bag series.  
Center for Global Affairs, Woolworth Building, 15 Barclay St. - btw. Broadway & Church St., 1-212-992-8380

4:30- 6pm Discussion • Free  
*Public Talks/Private Thoughts: Scholars Respond to 'Creating Their Own Image'*  
A symposium on the art and image of Black women. This discussion is presented in

# COMMUNITY CALENDAR NOVEMBER

Narrative, documentary, political satire, ironic, strange and funny pieces will be screened. Galapagos Art Space, 70 N 6th St. Williamsburg, Brooklyn

## SATURDAY NOV 13TH

3pm • Free  
Laura Peterson, "Security" and Marion Ramirez, "Hand"  
"Security" explores the ways in which society's perceived need for constant surveillance affects our need for confidentiality and investigates what safety and security mean to the individual. "Hand" investigates movement ideas of islands and "body-lands." Danspace Project, St. Mark's Church in the Bowery 131 E. 10th St. - 1-212-674-8112

7pm • Free  
*The Lost Soundbites*  
A riveting documentary film set to music about the way some Americans view Muslims.  
www.naheedence.com  
Bluestockings Books, 172 Allen Street www.bluestockings.com

## MONDAY NOV 15TH

5- 7pm • Free  
*"When Neoliberal Economics and Fundamentalism Meet: Impacts on Indian Women"*  
The Seventh Annual Beatrice Kachuck Lecture on Women in India.  
Graduate Center, City University of New York 365 Fifth Ave. at 34th St., 1-212-817-8215

6:30pm • Free  
*Creating Their Own Image Opening*  
A stirring, honest, and complex re-examination of the image of the Black female as conveyed by contemporary African-American women artists. Paintings, sculpture, photography, and mixed-media work by 25 artists will be on view until February 1, 2005.  
Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries, 66 Fifth Avenue

6:15pm • Free  
*Laclau's Political Theory: Glimpsing the Future*  
With Ernesto Laclau, Joan Copjec, Linda Zenlli, Gabriela Basteria, Simon Critchley and Oliver Marchart. Includes presentation of "Laclau: A Critical Reader."  
King Juan Carlos Center, 53 Washington Square South - 1-212-998-3650

6:30pm • \$5  
*Film, Video and Animation by Artists Who Kick Ass!* Part III  
Discussion: How is public knowledge produced? What gets covered and what gets

6:30pm • Free  
*Clifford Geertz: What Was the Third-World Revolution?*  
Graduate Center, City University of New York 365 Fifth Ave. at 34th St., 1-212-817-8215 Nov. 15: 7:00pm • Free  
"Witkiewicz: The Theatre of a Two-Headed Calf" – performance, lecture, concert Painter, playwright, philosopher, novelist, and expert on drugs. S.I. Witkiewicz (1885-1939), known as Witkacy, is now recognized as a major figure of the twentieth-century avant-garde.  
Graduate Center, City University of New York 365 Fifth Ave. at 34th St. 1-212-817-8215

## TUESDAY NOV 16

6:00pm • Free  
*Iraq and the Media*  
Discussion: How is public knowledge produced? What gets covered and what gets

ignored by what media? Does the "embedding" of American journalists in military units undermine their independent judgment? Panelists include William Kristol, editor, Weekly Standard; Edward Rothstein, cultural critic, New York Times; and Jonathan Schell, The Nation Institute. Moderated by Richard Bernstein, New School University Graduate Faculty. New School University 66 W. 12th St. - 1-212-229-5682

6:30pm • \$ donation  
*Mekong Delta, Tram Chim Bird Sanctuary, Vietnam* art of the "Worldwide Adventures by Local Artists" series.  
St. Margaret's House 49 Fulton St. - 1-212-385-3650

## THURSDAY NOV 18

1:00pm to 2:00pm • free, call for reserves.  
*Transitional Justice in Liberia*  
Alexander Meyer-Rieckh, research consultant, and Marieke Wierda, Meyer-Rieckh and Wierda discuss the establishment of a Liberian truth commission, as well as a joint Liberia-UN program designed to address past violations by establishing a vetting program for security and police forces. They also discuss how Liberia is dealing with the issue of accountability for former president Charles Taylor. Part of the Thursday Brown Bag series.  
Center for Global Affairs, Woolworth Building 15 Barclay St. - btw. Broadway & Church St., 1-212-992-8380

7:30pm • free  
*John Updike on Religion*  
Existential questions have been at the center of Updike's work from the beginning of his career. In an autobiographical piece, "The Dogwood Tree: A Boyhood," he called sex, art and religion "the three great secret things" in the human experience.  
Center for Religious Inquiry, St. Bartholomew's Church 109 E. 50th St. - at Park Ave. 1-212-378-0222

## FRIDAY NOV 19

10:30pm • \$8/7/5  
*Lovely Ladies* with Reg E Gaines  
Two-time Tony nominee, playwright, Nuyorican Grand Slam Champion, and poet Reg E Gaines celebrates the publication of his latest book, 2 Blk & Wrt, with a poetry and audio performance with the band Hush Project  
Poetry Project at St Marks Church St. Mark's Church at the corner of 2nd Ave

and 10th St in Manhattan.  
Call (212) 674-0910 for more information.

## SATURDAY NOV 20

12:00pm • free  
*Artwalk NY*

The Coalition for the Homeless celebrates its 10th Annual ARTWALK NY event, featuring an interview with event chair Peter Jennings and honoree artist Ed Ruscha New School University 66 W. 12th St. - 1-212-229-5682

## MONDAY NOV 22

4:30, 6:50, 9:15pm • General Adm: \$10  
*Days of Glory (Giorni di gloria)* (1945)  
Directed by Giuseppe De Santis, Marcello Pagliero, Mario Serandrei, Luciano Visconti A documentary made at the end of World War II focusing on the trial of Italian Fascists who were implicated in the massacre of over 300 prisoners.  
BAM, 30 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, 718-636-4100 / www.bam.org

## TUESDAY NOV 23

6:30pm • \$2  
*The Mouth of the Amazon – From Brooklyn to Belem, Brazil*  
November 23, By Anthony Almeida, educator and photo-documentarian. Part of the "Worldwide Adventures by Local Artists" series.  
St. Margaret's House 49 Fulton St. - 1-212-385-3650  
Bodies in Motion: Animation 2004 (shorts program)

## WEDNESDAY NOV 24

4:30, 9:15pm  
These are not your usual Saturday morning cartoons – NewFest's popular collection of new LGBT animation explores robot love, video games, the dance floor, flirting, and much more. A re-presentation from NewFest 2004. BAM  
Alternative Tracks: Queer Music Videos (shorts program)  
Wed, Nov 24 at 6:50pm  
Various Directors  
A series of short LGBT videos focusing on a variety of music, from the Michigan Womyn's Festival to hip-hop and classical piano. A re-presentation from NewFest 2004. BAM, 30 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, 718-636-4100 / www.bam.org

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